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TATTOOING IN THE MARQUESAS

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WILLOWDEAN CHATTERSON HANDY SERVED AS VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATE WITH THE MARQUESAS PARTY OF THE BAYARD DOMINICK EXPEDITION, 1920-1921. SHE HAS TAKEN SKILLFUL ADVANTAGE OF HER OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN WHAT IS BELIEVED TO BE AN UNUSUALLY COMPLETE AND INTIMATE RECORD OF TATTOOING DESIGNS.

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Tattooing in the Marquesas

By Willowdean Chatterson Handy

INTRODUCTION

Drawings and photographs of tattooing patterns on the bodies of natives were made by the author during a residence in the Marquesas Islands in 1921. As tattooing is now forbidden by the laws of the country and the art is consequently dying out, this collection of the last specimens of tattooing patterns which exist today in the Marquesas has seemed to demand a complementary collection of information regarding the practice of the art, to the end that the beautiful motives might at least be partly accounted for and might some day take their merited place in the history of art. The data have been drawn from natives who have been decorated, from one old *tukuna*, or artist, who has practised tattooing, and from literary sources, thus piecing together a fairly accurate picture of the practice. Discussion of the design itself, of which the natives know nothing today beyond the nomenclature, is undertaken in a spirit of appreciation and with the hope that the suggestions offered regarding the evolution and significance of this form of decoration may uncover other possibilities and lead to a more conclusive interpretation of the art.

THE PRACTICE OF THE ART

It would appear that this form of body decoration was not confined to certain ranks or classes in the Marquesas, though what might be called a property qualification limited somewhat the complete covering and finer work to the wealthy who could afford to employ the best artists and stand the attendant expense of feeding them and their assistants as well as the large band of *ka'ioi* who erected the special house for the occasion. A father prepared long in advance for the payment for tattooing of his first-born, raising pigs, and planting *ute*, paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), for the making of tapa as gifts for both the *ka'ioi* and the *tukuna*. Payment also took the form of ornaments, war clubs, and more recently, guns. Langsdorff says that they paid for their decorations according to the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required; that during the thirty or forty years when the body was gone over again and again with the tattooing bones until the skin was completely covered, the cost became considerable; and that such all-over decoration necessarily indicated a person of great wealth (10 p. 120)[1]. It follows

[1] Throughout this paper the numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 26.

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X304 556 465 naturally that it also appeared only upon people of advanced years (6, p. 130; 13, p. 102-103), a circumstance which undoubtedly led to Captain Chanal's conclusion that the marks had no relation to anything but age (11, p. 111).

X304 556 561 While the *tuhuna* was paid generously for work on an *opou*, the eldest son of a wealthy man, no payment was asked of the *ka'ioi*, a more or less unorganized group of younger sons and daughters, who took such part in the preparations as raiding for food and building the special house, and who slipped in to have designs punctured upon them gratis when the *opou* was resting or recuperating from the effects of the operation. It is perhaps these *ka'ioi* to whom Melville (12, p. 49) refers in speaking of the common fellows who were practiced on. Langsdorff was apparently unaware of this custom, for he says that those who could not afford tattooing went without:

> The poorer islanders who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon breadfruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all. (10, p. 120.)

With the lower classes noticeably less tattooed than the higher, the conclusion was often drawn by early visitors that this form of decoration pointed out noble or distinguished persons (8, p. 155 and 13, p. 84). Berchon, writing in 1859, avows that all classes were tattooed at that time, but that formerly it was a sign of nobility and distinction. From what is to be gathered today from living informants, this is a misconception, in the main, based on the fact that wealth was in the hands of chiefs and distinguished men.

X304 714 622 Melville (13, p. 102) at one time assigns tattooing to the warrior class, but present information states that the untattooed as well as the tattooed went to war. That warriors, as well as other groups, wore special designs as badges is stated by modern informants as true in a few instances, and is frequently suggested by the early voyagers to the Marquesas. Spirals over the eyes (Pl. v, 7) are today described as belonging to all warriors in ancient times, while spirals called *kokoata* on cheeks and hips indicated chiefs, as do the tiny pinlike marks (Pl. XXXVIII, *G. d*) to be seen today on the inside of the left ankle. After a battle these marks—according to the informants—were sought for by the priest of a victorious army on the ankles of the slain to determine whether a chief had been killed and a great battle fought. Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make no mention of the badges described

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by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. XV), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*.

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250).

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three.

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[8] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con-

[8] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

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clusion that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi*, who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna*'s giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou*.

A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo*, whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious seasons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

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men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Berchon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for *tuhuna* and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones (*hutu*) were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

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*304 343 561 The *oho'au tiki*, together with a sleeping house and a cook house, which were placed on a stone *paepae* near a *me'ae* (sacred place), or a *tohua* (public place), was erected for the first-born or adopted boy *(matahiapo)*, other sons usually being *ka'ioi* and achieving their tattooing piecemeal and gratis in the *oho'au* of the *opou*. This house, which belonged with all its appurtenances to the *opou* and not to the *ka'ioi* who built it—although they slept in it during the period of the operation—was [283] carefully built, though it was lashed with the coarse strips of hibiscus bark rather than with the finely braided *pu'ukaha* or coconut fiber cord usual in other dwellings. Melville might seem to suggest a different custom in Hiva Oa from that of Nuku Hiva in the description of the tattooing's being performed in large houses belonging to the *tuhuna* themselves (12, p. 48-49); but all modern recollection in Hiva Oa is of the similar custom of building the special *oho'au* for the *opou*. It may be said in passing that neither Melville's descriptions of the spacious houses of the *tuhuna* with their numerous small apartments set apart by screens of tapa for private patients and of the small tents of coarse tapa erected by itinerant *tuhuna* for patients at the times of religious festivals, nor Langsdorff's account of the operation for persons in middling station being performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers and tabooed by authority (10, p. 120), are corroborated in the information gathered last year in the Marquesas. The Russian says further that the women were not, like the men, shut up in a tabooed house during the operation, but that it was performed without ceremony in their own houses or in those of relatives. This is corroborated today, particularly on Nuku Hiva; though sometimes, we are told, a small house called the *fa'e po'o (po'o*, coconut thatching) was built alongside the family dwelling for the tattooing of a girl and in it lived the whole family during the entire period of the operation, the main house being *tapu*, though the *fa'e po'o* was not.

*304 343 834 The *oho'au tiki*, itself, which we must take as the usual scene of the operation, was very *tapu* to outsiders. Those who entered it could have nothing to do with women, who were spoken of at this time as *vehine pu'atea (pu'atea*, a kind of tree with soft wood). Indeed these men must hide if a woman were even sighted at a distance, and it was necessary for them to cook for themselves. The men who held the legs and arms of *304 262 the *opou*, and who fanned flies during the work, were especially *tapu* and had to be served with special food. There seems to have been no regular food *tapu* for the patients during the period of the operation, though according to early visitors, there were dietary restrictions apparently for the sake of health. Garcia says the patients were forbidden for several days to take certain kinds of nourishment, such as pig and

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kava, and Melville speaks of the small portions of food that were pushed under the curtain by unseen hands to the *tapu* patients within the apartments, the restriction in food being intended to reduce the blood and so diminish inflammation; Langsdorff reports that the patient must drink very little for fear of inflammation, and must not eat early in the morning.

The work was performed by *tuhuna patu tiki* (*patu*, to mark or strike; *tiki*, designs), artists, evidently trained in the school of experience, some of them coming to enjoy great vogue on more than one island. Although Garcia states that the office was hereditary, each great family having its family of tattooers trained from generation to generation for its use, nothing of the sort can be traced today. According to modern informants, skill alone was qualification for practice and requisite for patronage. Langsdorff tells of novices who, for practice, operated upon poor people at very small charge, and Melville reports even the hiring of "vile fellows" as models on whom they could practice.

All present-day information denies Melville's statement that there were orders of tattooing artists. It is more likely that there were itinerant members of the profession, as he states. All seem to have practiced quite independently, although there was probably the kind of bond between them that followers of any profession feel. It is said in Ua Pou that there were different *tuhuna* for men and women because of the rule of *tapu* which ascribed to men greater sacredness than to women, but this was not true during the latter days of the art. No woman *tuhuna* was ever heard of. There were evidently contests between *tuhuna*, two or three working at the same time in an *oho'au*, attempting to excel one another in rapidity of execution and delicacy of designs. In the light of knowledge about the ancient native training in other artistic lines, it is possible to hazard the guess that to be accepted at all as a *tuhuna*, a thorough acquaintance with all the conventional units of the art was requisite; for, although individual *tuhuna* certainly varied and elaborated designs at will, yet they did not stray from the basic units.

A *tuhuna* was aided in his work by four or five assistants called *ou'a* (or *kou'a*—translated by Dordillon, pupil, disciple—meaning also shrimp). He was consulted as to the choice of designs, his decision apparently being usually accepted, although the *opou* was free to select his patterns. He outlined the designs upon the body with a piece of charcoal. But it was the *ou'a* who held the arms and legs of the patient, who stretched the skin to make a smooth surface upon which to work, who fanned the flies from the bleeding wounds, and who often, it is reported, filled in the outlined designs.

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304 Before the coming of the *tuhuna*, the father of the *opou* had pre-
386 pared the pigment *(hiva)*. The preparation of this was a very *tapu*
834 operation, the man making it being forbidden all relationship with women during the period; and, according to Lesson (1, p. 107-108), it was necessary for a virgin to aid him in the work. The shells of the *ama* nut *(Aleurites triloba)* were heated so as to open easily (7, p. 45), and the kernels placed over a fire in a kind of pocket of stones which allowed the smoke to ascend through a small passageway in order to collect on a smooth stone *(pa'e hinu)*. Upon this stone a constant tapping was kept up while the soot collected to the depth of about an inch. This process, according to Berchon, was called *amahi ama*. The soot-covered *pa'e hinu* was then placed on a banana leaf and left in the sun to dry, being kept thus until the *tuhuna* arrived for his work. Thereupon, the father, according to present-day information, mixed the soot with plain water in a small coconut shell *(ipu hinu)* and gave it to the artist. Marchand Langsdorff, and Porter agree upon water as the solvent; but Berchon further reports that the ink, which he calls *kaahi*, was made by mixing the soot with coconut oil; while Melville (13, p. 246) gives vegetable juice as the liquid. He and Langsdorff describe the use of the ashes, rather than the soot, of this nut kernel, and Porter thought burnt and powdered coconut shell was used, but apparently no other pigment save carbon was ever employed in the Marquesas, as all early voyagers remark only the dark blue or blackish coloring. (See 15, p. 16; 14, p. 78; 10, p. 118; 8, p. 155; 13, p. 158). Jardin (7) speaks of carbonizing and pulverizing the kernels of the *ama* and mixing the powder with water to trace the designs on the body, and it may be that the residue of the burnt nuts was so used.

304 When the *tuhuna* arrived, ' inging his instruments in a bamboo case
413 seven or eight inches long *(pukohe fau hinu)*, stoppered with a wad of tapa, he spread them out upon a piece of tapa on the ground, ready for use. The instrument is generally known as *ta* (to strike), but Berchon (1, p. 110) gives the following nomenclature for its various parts: *ta'a* (a point) for the toothed end, *kakaho* (reed or cane) for the horizontal support of the teeth, and *ta-tiki* (strike-*tiki*) for the baton (Berchon, p. 110). There was always an assortment of these toothed ends of varying fineness or coarseness appropriate for all grades of work from the delicate hair lines to solid patches. The flat instruments for straight lines and gradual curves were of human bone, sometimes of the bones of enemy sacrifices *(iwi keana)*. They were about three inches long, flat and slightly wedge-shaped, and toothed or comblike at the end. Instruments for the smaller curves were of the bones of the *kena (Sula piscatrix)*,

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or of a *tapu* bird on the small island of Fatu Uku, the leg bones having been used (at least they are used for the instruments seen today), and according to Langsdorff, wing bones also. Marchand describes these *ta* as sometimes of tortoise-shell; Berchon adds, of fish bone; and Melville mentions sharks' teeth: but no trace of combs other than of human or bird bone remains today. The number of teeth varied from three to about twenty—Melville saw some with a single fine point—according to the size and use of the instrument. Melville says that some had points disposed in small figures, so that the whole design was printed at a single blow.

These bone combs were inserted into a slit in a piece of reed stalk, bamboo (10, p. 118), or ironwood (11, p. 110; 1, p. 109), six or seven inches long, which acted as a horizontal handle (see, however, 12, p. 51, note), held, while in use, in the left hand of the *tuhuna*. This was, as far as could be ascertained today, straight, though Melville speaks of curved ones. The baton, about three quarters of an inch thick and from a foot to eighteen inches long, was of hibiscus wood.

Although everything connected with the operation itself was extremely *tapu*, tattooers in general, in Nuku Hiva at least, being under the auspices of the god Hamatakee (2), Tahu being the god of the *tuhuna* and the *ka'ioi*, Pupuke of the *ou'a*, yet there are no records of opening ceremonies. The patient, clad only in a girdle, was simply laid upon the floor, arms and legs held by four *ou'a*. When a design had been sketched in charcoal upon the body, the *tuhuna*, or an assistant, held in his left hand the toothed hammer and a piece of tapa, with which by a dextrous twist of this hand he wiped away the blood as it flowed from the punctures made in the skin by the gentle tapping on the top of the comb with the baton held in the right hand. As he worked, he kept a sufficient supply of pigment upon the teeth by dipping two fingers of his right hand into the ink and rubbing them upon the comb. Garcia, Marchand, and Berchon agree with this procedure; but Langsdorff and Krusenstern declare that the punctures were made in the skin until the blood oozed out and then the dye was rubbed in. While the tapping went on, the operator chanted in rhythm to his strokes the following words to allay the pain of the *opou:*

Ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e, ua tuki-e,	It is struck, it is struck, it is struck,
Ua tuki-a, to tiki-e,	It is struck, your design,
Poparara[9] to tiki-e,	Tap-tapping your design,
O te tunane o te kui-a,	The brother of the mother,
O te tuehine o te kui-a,	The sister of the mother,
To'u tiki-e.	My design.

[9] Poparara is onomatopoetic, the sound of tapping.

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Chants for women do not seem to be general. At some time during the operation, the *opou* was given a new name, referred to as *patiki*. This was taken from some personal defect of his own, such as a blind eye, for example, or from some imaginary peculiarity of the genital organs of his father or mother.

The operation, as may be imagined, was extremely painful and the patient cried and screamed without restraint. Berchon notes that after each sitting, there were from eight to twelve days of local inflammation, followed by fever and sometimes swellings, which were at times fatal. Light inflammation and swelling and ulcers lasting for several days (6, p. 132; 11, p. 110; 10, p. 118) seem to have been usually the most serious results of the rigorous treatment. The juice of the banana stem was used as an ointment *(paku)* to hasten healing. Berchon says an emollient of hibiscus leaves was applied to relieve the inflammation.

The duration of the operation depended largely upon the fortitude and health of the patient. A Nuku Hiva man is reported to have been completely covered in three days; the legs and back of one man of Hanamenu were done in seven days; but as a rule the designs were put on in more leisurely fashion, a section of the body being covered at a sitting, with three-day rest periods called days of blood *(a toto)* after each, so that the operation covered from two weeks to four months. Under such conditions a woman's lips and shoulder might be decorated in a day, a man's legs from knees to ankles, or perhaps his thighs and buttocks. Langsdorff says that the first sitting usually lasted from three to four weeks and that only the groundwork of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, was laid the first year, additions, however, being made for years at intervals of from three to six months.

After the operation, fruits of noni *(Morinda citrofolia)* the most usual healing agent, were offered at the *me'ae* or sacred place; the *tuhuna* was paid; and, when the *tapu* was lifted, the sacred *oho'au tiki* was burned (though not the common house of women); and all those participating in the operation, who had not been allowed to bathe during the entire time, now went first to the sea to bathe, afterwards to the river. This accomplished, they covered themselves with fragrant ointment, which turned the skin yellow so that their new patterns showed brilliantly. Meanwhile, relatives had prepared such ornaments as tortoise-shell crowns, girdles of tapa, feather head ornaments, earrings, and the like. These they left outside their houses on the night before the festival *(Ko'ina tuhi tiki; Ko'ina*, feast; *tuhi*, show; *tiki*, design), which was always given to celebrate the completion of the work, and the newly decorated girls and boys donned them before their appearance on the paved floor of the

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festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones *(tutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty-five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

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represent about as full a collection as could be obtained today of the tattoo designs of the Marquesas. What may be learned of the history and meaning of the art from the study of these designs may be of interest.

The parts of the body ornamented differ today, as they have always, for men and women, a complete suit of tattooing for the men (Pl. 1) covering the crown of the head (Pl. v, 9), face (Pls. III, IV, V) including the eyelids, often the inside of the nostrils, tongue, palms and back of the hand (Pls. VIII, *A;* XI, *C),* arms (Pls. XII-XIII), legs (Pls. XXIX-XXXVIII), and the entire trunk (Pl. XIV) but not the penis, which all save one of our modern informants deny ever to have been tattooed. (See also: 15, p. 16; 4, p. 14; 5, p. 232; 14, pp. 78, 114; 11, p. 111; 10, pp. 122-123; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 13, pp. 83-84, 90-91; 18, p. 222.) At the present day, the one man who might be said to be fully tattooed or *moho,* is lacking the crown piece, save for a section, and the tongue and palm coverings. From the earliest times accounts such as those of Cook, Marchand, Langsdorff, Krusenstern, Melville, Berchon and Porter note the simpler decoration of the women, G. Forster observing none on them. On the bodies of women observed today, patterns are found on the lips running back to the base of the gums (Pls. II, *A;* VI, *A),* on the ear lobes, behind the ears (Pl. VI, *C;* Porter, p. 114), on the curve of the shoulder (Pl. VI, *B;* see also 13, p. 95; 6, p. 132), on the lower back of which but one example remains, as far as known (Pl. XV), on the hands (Pls. VII-XI) and on the legs from the buttocks down (Pls. XVI-XXVIII). One old woman of Nuku Hiva describes the tattooing on women as covering (also, formerly, the whole length of the arms on the inside, the buttocks, and the abdomen. She, as well as all others living today, declares that the vulva was never tattooed, although one woman reports a girdle that came around in front.

Various reasons are given for covering different parts of the body. The decorated hand was noticeable in kneading and eating *popoi.* The under-arm pattern made a fine showing when the arms were uplifted to strike with the war club. Shoulder and chest decorations were displayed when men walked with arms crossed behind the back. Circular motives on the inside of the knees were in evidence when men sat cross-legged. The inside thighs where the loin cloth hung and covered them were often left vacant.

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There are numerous indications both in the types of design to be seen today and in descriptions and stories of natives and of visitors to the islands, that fashion in this mode of decoration was no exception to the rule of fashion's fickleness. There are to be seen naturalistic, geometric, and conventional motives, both symmetrically and irregularly arranged; there are stories of inter-island exchange of motives and of

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the teaching of the *tuhuna* of the northwestern group by those of the southeastern; there are to be found in literary sources accounts of the vogue of different artists and statements from which may be deduced complete changes in the type of design. With a view to discovering how dependent style was upon the taste and originality of individual artists, the names of all artists who executed the designs recorded were noted. When two pieces of work done by the same *tuhuna* were found, the choice of pattern seemed sometimes to be identical (Pl. XI, *C*), sometimes altogether different (Pls, IX, *B* and X, *A*), while the work of different *tuhuna* was sometimes identical (Pl. XIII, *B*). It would seem that all *tuhuna* drew, more or less at their will, from a single body of design.

In the hope of making as clear as possible the probable evolution of this art in the Marquesas towards the elaborate conventional design that prevailed when it was forbidden thirty-eight years ago, the following details are set down.

Quiros records in his description of Mendaña's visit to the southeastern islands in 1595, the observation of "fish and other patterns painted" upon the faces and bodies of the natives. This is corroborated by a living informant who says that formerly women had birds and fish behind their ears and on their legs, and men are reported to have had lizards on their faces. The next word from a voyager that comes to us of this group is dated nearly two centuries later when Forster observes in 1772 that the motives in Tahu Ata are not naturalistic but geometric, taking the form of "blotches, spirals, bars, chequers, and lines;" while J. R. Forster confirms this analysis, adding however, "circles," and Marchand in 1790 reiterates the two lists and swells them with "parts of circles . . . . square or oval figures . . . . inclined and variously crossed lines." It would appear, then, that in the southeastern islands during these hundred and eighty-odd years, there had been in the type of design a change from the naturalistic to the geometric.

We have no similar statements regarding what was happening in the northwestern group during the early period, the first observations there being set down by Marchand in 1790, who visited both groups. Though Marchand touched for a short time at only two bays in the northwestern islands, still it is valuable to have his statement that he finds in Ua Pou the same custom of tattooing as in Tahu Ata but not so general, few tattooed individuals being seen (11, p. 167). Unfortunately he does not define the types of motives there as he does in Tahu Ata. Just a few years later, however, in 1803, Langsdorff gives a number of drawings from the northwestern group with explanations of them (10: Pl. VI, p. 117; Pl. VII, p. 119; Pl. VIII, p. 122; pp. XIV, XV, XVI). which show that

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304 531 184 by the beginning of the nineteenth century, designs in Nuku Hiva were a combination of purely geometric figures with all save two of the principal conventional units of the latest phase of the art that at the present day is universally attributed by the natives to the southeastern islands, which for convenience may be referred to as the Hiva Oa development. Dordillon (3) gives the names of many motives which have completely disappeared today, most of them recorded in the northwestern group. Of these, several would indicate naturalistic treatment: *a'akiva*, line of sea builders; *aukohuhu*, a seaweed; *haha'ua*, a kind of ray fish; *homae*, a fish; *koao*, a fish; *matuku*, a bird; *keeheu*, wing; *tikau'e*, fly; *toetoe*, crab. Furthermore, in 1843 Melville saw fish and birds and an *artu*(?) tree tattooed on natives of Nuku Hiva (13, p. 157); Desgraz, the same year, describes fish and shells (18, p. 223); Garcia in 1845, fish; Berchon, in 1859, boots, gloves, suns, sharks, cockroaches, coconuts, lizards. In addition to these naturalistic motives, all these visitors also saw geometric patterns, showing that in the northwestern group as long as we have any record of tattooing there, the two types have existed side by side as they do today. (For naturalistic motives see Pls. XVIII; XX, *B, c;* XI, *D;* XXX, *j;* for geometric, Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX, *A, b;* XXI, *D, a).*

On the other hand the earliest drawings obtainable that are known to be of the Hiva Oa type are those drawn by Proiho and an old *tuhuna patu tiki* of Fatu Hiva (Pls. IX, *A;* XII, *C;* XIV, *B;* XVI; XXX). These are impossible to place chronologically and are no longer found upon the body in exactly these forms. Among them is found but one genuinely naturalistic motive (Pl. XXX, *j*) but a combination of geometric figures such as squares (Pl. XII, *C, b* and *c*), bars (Pl. XXX, *C*), oblique (Pl. XXX, *d*) and variously crossed lines (Pl. XVI, *d;* XXX, *a;* XXX, *k*), with simple forms of all the modern conventional motives save the *matakomoe* of Langsdorff, now called *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*) and the flower-like or sunlike disk variously called *puahitu, puahue* and *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*), both of which are to be found in primitive form in the early Nuku Hiva art (Pl. XXIX, *f, c*). Today three naturalistic designs, and these very crude, are to be found in the southeastern group, and these are all the work of the same artist. (Pls. X, *A*, 2, *a;* XXVIII, *D, E*). The designs described as belonging to former Nuku Hiva and Fatu Hiva styles have in common several units, many of them in primitive form which are to be found today in the Hiva Oa style: for example, the *koheta* (Pls. XXX, *a;* XXIX, *a* and *b;* XXXIV, *a* and *b*); the *ka'ake* (Pls. XXX, *i;* XXIX, *h;* XXXIV, *g* insets); the *hikuhiku atu* (Pls. XXIX, *b;* XXX, *g;* XXXIII, *h*); and the *mata hoata* (Pls. XXX, *e*, lower *a;* XXIX, *g;* I, *D*, thigh); and what I

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conceive to be the forerunner of the underarm *ipuoto*, the original *po'i'i* or shellfish motive (Pl. IX, *A, a;* XII, *A, B, D*).

An examination of the extant examples of the art shows a distinct cleavage between the two groups in their conception of design, that of the southeastern being purely conventional with but minor relics of the geometric and the slightest trace of the naturalistic; that of the northwestern showing several examples of naturalistic art, many of the geometric, and a simpler form of the conventional than the other. Marquesans are all agreed, that, as far as tattooing customs went, the islands were divided into two groups: Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou forming one; Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva and Ua Huka—because of its close intercourse with the north and west coast of Hiva Oa—forming the other. It may be remarked that Fatu Hiva is accepted as the home of carving and modern tattooing; but, being regarded as a kind of suburb of Hiva Oa, the latter island is referred to as the center. Several trustworthy informants declare that before the whites came, *tuhuna patu tiki* went from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva to teach them the art there, as before this time the Nuku Hivans used only "dirty black patches." We know that, by Melville's time, a transfer from the one to the other group was taking place, for he says that when he was in Nuku Hiva in 1843 (12, p. 48), Hiva Oa enjoyed a reputation for tattooing in the whole group. At the time of its discontinuance as a practice, it was certainly Hiva Oa tattooing that prevailed over the whole group.

Face patterns seem to have followed the same general lines of development, with a period at least of divergent styles in the two groups. Some Hiva Oa natives say that lizard motives were anciently used on the face; but early voyagers indicate only geometric figures, Marchand—the first to attempt to define them—speaking vaguely of various lines on the forehead representing kinds of hieroglyphics or characters of Chinese writing (16, Vol. II, Pl. 133; 10, Pl. VI, p. 117). Langsdorff pictures a man with a spiral on his cheek (10, Pl. VI, p. 117) and this convention is confirmed by living informants who describe these *kokoata* (Pl. V, 7) on the faces of warriors and chiefs. Today, naturalistic motives are not to be seen upon the face, but what may be a descendant of the spiral occurs on Ua Pou in a fine design on the nostril (Pl. IV, 7, 10; *V*, 4). The prevalent style called *ti'ati'apu*, to encircle several times, consists of three solid stripes, sometimes seen as unfinished half-stripes, banding the face horizontally, one across the forehead, one across the eyes and the third across the mouth. (See Pls. III-V.) This is everywhere declared to be a Hiva Oa style and there is a variant where the mouth band covers the nostrils,

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said to belong to Fatu Hiva. Of this but one living example could be found (Pl. v, 8). Of the old Nuku Hiva *paheke*, distinguished by an oblique band running from the right center of the forehead across the left eye and cheek (Pl. v, 5), there remain today but two examples. What form the transition from spiral to band may have taken can only be conjectured. A reliable Hiva Oa informant describes a former convention of that island which seems to be a combination of over-eye arcs—perhaps a relic of the spiral—, of *peheke* and *ti'ati'apu* (Pl. v, 6; see also Langsdorff's description and Pl. VIII, figs. 10, 11, p. XI). In Melville's time, both the modern styles were seen on Nuku Hiva, and in the tattooing to be seen today, the Hiva Oa has replaced the Nuku Hiva design completely. In the fine inset and inter-band motives are to be found both geometric and conventional motives, never naturalistic.

How may this divergence between groups and the growth from the naturalistic through the geometric to the conventional—as seems to be the probable development—be accounted for?

Perhaps it may be postulated that before the seventeenth century naturalistic motives were used in both groups, that during the two unrecorded centuries geometric figures appeared in the southeastern group, that these gradually replaced the naturalistic there or transformed them into the conventional, and that at each stage of development the new styles were carried to the northwest where they did not so completely obliterate or amalgamate the native patterns, some of which persist to this day in their old form.

Influences which may have contributed to such a development are suggested by an examination of adzing and carving motives. Ornamental adzing in simple geometric patterns seems to have been the primitive form of wood decoration. Imitation of its technique as well as the use of its motives on the body is evident. The former is seen in the filling of spaces, ordinarily made solid in color, with parallel, oblique, zigzag or wavy lines (Pl. III, 7, inset in eye band; XXI, *B, b;* XXXVI, insets in *e* and *g;* XXXV, inset barred teeth in *f;* XXX, *d);* in the use of the intersection of adzing lines to form the motive called *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A, d;* possibly also the inset in the forehead band in Pl. III, 8). In tattooing are found such housepost motives as the cross formed by adzing off the corners of a square (Pl. XII, *C, b*), concentric circles (Pl. XII-*E, b*) and concentric half-ovals (Pl. XXVIII, *E;* XVIII, *a).* It is possible that the use of four triangles in a square or oblong, as well as the conception of design in bands may have come from this art of adzing wood. When it is remembered that wood was scorched before a pattern was adzed or carved upon it, so that the design was in natural wood color, the back-

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ground in black, the conclusion suggests itself that such motives as the *pahito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *j* and *k*, left and right) and the flamelike ends of triangles (XVIII, XIX *A*) may be copies of the black background left by gouging alongside a line in the one case and by cutting short lines vertically out from a straight line in the other. It seems as if the checkerboard pattern, of which but one example is extant, must have originally been carved on wood (Pl. XXI, *D, a)*. Parallel and wavy lines and other adzing and carving concepts are used on the body, as seen in the preceding example. It will be noticed that most of these coincidences are found in Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou or early Fatu Hiva types, rather than in the prevalent modern patterns, though among these are two examples of the scroll so prominent in carving (see also Pls. XXXVIII, *D;* XXXV, *c)*.

Wood carving, as distinguished from adzing, which decorated bowls, paddles, clubs, etc., seems to be a mixture of adzing patterns, geometric squarish spirals and a few of the conventional motives usual in tattooing. Of carving technique copies such as the veining along a midrib (Pl. XXVIII *E)* are found in tattooing; of carving design, similarities to old war club patterns (Pl. VI, *B;* X, *A, 2, a;* the *tava*, which was formerly burned on a plank in the house of the inspirational priest (Pl. XVI, *m*); and such small units as the *tiki* in forehead and mouth bands of Plate III, 7. Common to both carving and tattooing are such conventional motives as the *honu kea* or woodlouse, the *mata hoata* or brilliant eye, the *ka'ake* or underarm curve, the *poka'a* or wooden block for carrying a load on the shoulder, the *enata* or man. Whether these motives originated as wood carving patterns or as body decoration and in which direction the transfer and adaption was made it is impossible to say definitely.

Several interesting possibilities are suggested by an analysis of the various motives called *kea* today. It would appear that the *kea* of common occurrence on wood is really a conventionalization of the *honu kea* or woodlouse with its six legs and two antennae. This was seen but once in tattooing, on the wrist of an old woman of Fatu Hiva (Pl. VII, *A*, 1, *a)* and was drawn by an artist of Fatu Hiva as a former unit there (Pl. XVI, *K)*. On the other hand, the usual body *kea* (Pl. XXII, *B, b* center) may very well be a simple conventionalization of one of the carved tortoise-shell plaques of the *paekea* or crown—a carved product of Hiva Oa—the motive having been borrowed from shell rather than from wood carving. There is a motive found today in tattooing on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *A, e;* XXI, *D, b)* and depicted also as an early Fatu Hiva unit (Pl. IX, *A, b*) which resembles the *e honu*, tortoise, drawn by Langsdorff, and this, which has disappeared from Hiva Oa tattooing, may perhaps be said

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to be the only conventional derivative of a naturalistic portrayal of the tortoise and probably the only pure body motive among the variants called *kea*. The southeastern carving motive is the *kea* which prevails today.

Another usual conventional motive appearing both in carving and tattooing, the *mata hoata*, or brilliant eye (Pl. XXVI, *A. e*), would appear to have originated in neither, being, in its simplest form, a copy of the eyes, ears and nostrils of a *tiki* or image face. Only on wood is this simple copy found today, and on wood we find all the transition stages of its development to the highly conventionalized unit common in tattooing today; whence it would appear that the *mata hoata* originated in sculpture, was copied upon wood, and transferred to the body, where it gradually was elaborated and more highly conventionalized. (For development see Pl. XXX, *b*, which is found only on wood today; XI, *A, c*; XVIII, *b*; XXXIV, *b*; XXXIII, *c*; XXIII, *B, f, a*; XXIII, *A, a*, center.)

Of conventional motives the *ka'ake* is perhaps the most widely used. Dordillon gives *kakekake* as one of the words used to designate tattooing which is entirely finished. He spells the word *"kake,"* but it seems better to adopt the spelling *"ka'ake"* for the following reasons: The distinguishing feature of the motive is its never varying curve which seems to correspond to the line of the under-arm curve or arm-pit for which the native term is *ka'ake*. The assumption that this curve of the body originally gave the name to the motive is borne out by several lines of reasoning. In the first place, Langsdorff assigns the placing of this motive originally to the inside arm and ribs (10, p. XV); in the second place, we have described for us this simple under-arm curve as its earliest form (Pl. XXIX, *h*; XXX, *i*); and in the third place, the elaborations of this curve, as the motive grew in complexity, are representations of the *enata* or man with upraised arms (Pl. VI, *B*, center bottom), and of the *poka'a* (Pl. IX, *B* at base of fingers) or curved wooden object placed on the shoulders on which to rest a pole in carrying a heavy load. The association of ideas seems obvious and we find them associated today as minor decorations in the under-arm pattern (Pl. XIII, *B, a, b*; XIII, *C, c* and *d*; XIV, *A*). This combination is especially marked in the simpler forms of the *ka'ake* as found on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *B, b*) and Nuka Hiva (Pl. XV, *a*). Although this unit appears upon wood, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was originally a body pattern.

There are certain body motives which seem never or rarely to have been used upon wood, such as the *kuetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*) and the *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*; XXVI, *A, d*, center), which are associated with early Nuku Hiva, not Hiva Oa, art; and there are some which are just beginning to be transferred to wood at the present time, as the *ipu'oto*, another unit

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found in early Nuku Hiva design (Pl. XIII); but it seems impossible definitely to assign particular conventional motives to the one medium or the other. However, it may perhaps be stated that geometric elements did originate on wood, and that the influence of geometric adzing and carving appears in tattooing both in certain transferred elements and in a general conventionalization of the primitive naturalistic motives. Inasmuch as Fatu Hiva is known to be the carving center, we may further define the geometric influence as springing directly from wood-carvers of the southeastern group.

The use of solid patches may be traced with interest, as here again we find a different treatment in the two groups. Some modern informants describe the men of Nuku Hiva as formerly having half of the body entirely black (Pl. XII, B); one remembers seeing a man with solid-black legs; several testify that when a man was completely tattooed in design, if he could bear it, the spaces were gone over and filled in until all pattern was obliterated and he was completely black. In corroborating this custom in Nuku Hiva, Langsdorff says that he saw some old men who were punctured over and over to such a degree that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. (See also 14, p. 78; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 1, p. 106.) There are no accounts of such a practice in the southeastern islands, and this seems to point to an aesthetic sense there, which was lacking in the northwest, for certainly people with sufficient artistic sense to originate these beautiful patterns would not have covered them afterwards and considered the results the "height of perfection in ornament," as did the *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva, according to Langsdorff and the other early voyagers.

Desgraz, who was in Nuku Hiva at approximately the same time as Melville, when Hiva Oa tattooing was the vogue, describes the use there of black bands containing delicate figures. These are today the fundamentally distinguishing feature of the Hiva Oa type of body design as well as of the face pattern. On the other hand, both from descriptions of natives today and from examination of the tattooing of the only old man and old woman to be found, whose patterns were put on by Nuku Hiva *tuhuna*, the basic principle of the Nuku Hiva type seems to have been solid patches. Leg patterns for women found today fall into three distinct types: that of Nuku Hiva (Pls. XVII-XIX) Ua Pou (Pls. XX-XXI), and Hiva Oa (Pls. XXII-XXVIII). The first is distinguished by triangular patches of different sizes fitted together with half inch spaces between them, the only regularity of arrangement being their placing so as to form a straight line down the center front of the leg. Flamelike edges, inset teeth, and

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geometric linings, with here and there a naturalistic unit, break up the heavy patches and add to their irregular and fancy appearance. Examination of the leg motives of this very *tapu* Nuku Hiva chiefess, who must have employed the best artist obtainable, provokes the suggestion that these insets were crude and inartistic attempts at a style from the southeast which had perhaps just been introduced into Nuku Hiva and with which the Nuku Hiva *tuhuna* was not acquainted or perhaps to which he was not equal. The second type, that of Ua Pou, is put on below the knee only, in horizontal bands of delicately lined patterns, the motives on either side of the center, front and back, being exactly alike. The whole may be conceived of in front and back longitudinal sections of symmetrical halves, which meet in the middle of either side of the leg. Naturalistic, geometric and conventional treatments are all present. The third type, that of Hiva Oa, which was the prevalent style at the time of the discontinuance of the art, is similar in arrangement to that of Ua Pou, extending however high up onto the thigh, and presents a mean between the two former in heaviness of treatment, the fine lines swelling into black curves. The mode is almost purely conventional. The two latter may be characterized as curvilinear; the former, as angular in design.

The leg patterns to be seen on living men fall into two types, a single example representing that of Nuku Hiva (Pl. XXXI), all the rest being of the Hiva Oa type (Pls. XXXII-XXXVIII). The former is characterized by unadorned heavy patches, triangular and oblong in shape, fitted together obliquely with no plan of arrangement save the formation of a straight intersection down the front of the leg. Teeth are the only insets. The Hiva Oa examples show the style to be of horizontal bands extending around three quarters of the leg, the inside front quarter being filled with triangles in the Nuku Hiva style (Pl. XXXIV, *e-j*), indicating, perhaps, a borrowing from the heavy black patches of that group. The thigh band and the underknee band are always composed either of four triangles or of triangles and parallelograms with insets of teeth; but beyond this, this style is totally different from the Nuku Hiva example, variations of the same fine line motives used in Hiva Oa for women being set into *pahito* so that the heavy bands become merely a framework for them. The Nuku Hiva pattern drawn from life stands quite apart from that pictured by early navigators (10, pp. 117, 119; 16, Pl. 132) and described by a modern informant on Fatu Hiva (See Pl. XXIX). It is a pity that no other living example of the work of a Nuku Hiva artist could be found, as it is unsafe to make any general statement about it.

At the present time, there is but one type of back decoration for men (Pl. XIV, *C*): eight heavy rectangular patches arranged in pairs along the

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back bone with fine line insets and a girdle. These are called *peka tua*, back cross, by an informant of Nuku Hiva and may be an outgrowth of the cross on the back described by Langsdorff (10, p. 123), though the present mode bears no resemblance to a cross, being rather another example of band construction. 304x 531 184

With the band construction of the present day, then, are associated exact technique, perfect symmetry, an evident understanding of anatomy and fitting of design to the body, and motives which are akin in name and formation to those carved on bowls, paddles, canoes, and similar objects. The distinguishing features accompanying the oblique patch type are irregularity, no sense of the design as a whole, no fitting of the motives to the body, naturalistic units, fussy, elaborate, non-aesthetic, fine-line insets.

A survey of these two types of body decoration leads naturally to the suggestion that there was a fundamental difference of concept between the two groups regarding the reason for its use. Plainly, there was an emphasis upon endurance and fortitude in the mind of the northwesterner when he braved the pain of a completely perforated skin; while the south-easterner looked upon the art as more purely decorative. Dordillon gives the word *ne'one'o* as meaning "what inspires horror (in speaking of a wound)," and "to cry a long time;" and this word with the addition of the phrase, *"i te tiki"* means "completely covered with tattooing." It is the pain of which the people of the Marquesas speak today when displaying their decorations, and it must be admitted that this is as true in the one group as in the other.

The only practical reason for tattooing that was suggested by living informants came from a man of Nuku Hiva, who, in describing an old mode of the northwestern group of tattooing half of the entire body solid black, accounts for this style by saying that such a one turned his black side towards the enemy during a battle, so that he could not be distinguished or recognized. 304x 531

Inquiry into the naming of motives may throw some light upon their significance in the native mind. Appreciation of the anatomy of the body is often of such paramount importance as to give the name of the body part to the motive which is fitted to it, the *fatina* (joint) or knee jointure pattern (Pl. xxxiv, *f*) being a case in point. The same sense of body form is approached from a slightly different angle, as in the naming of the buttock pattern, *tifa* (cover) (Pl. xxxv, *c*), the convex of the body part resembling the cover of a calabash. Motives are sometimes referred to in purely technical terms of form: such as *paka* (Pl. xxxv, *h*) a splinter; *kopito* (Pl. xxiii, *A, d*, left and right) zigzag; or in terms of 304x 531 552

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the parts they play in the pattern as a whole, such as the *ka'ava* (Pl. x, *B*, 1, *g*); beam supporting the timbers of a house, which performs just this function in the hand pattern; or the *iti'iti'i* (Pl. xxvi, *B*, *h*) which encircles the leg, binding together the side motives.

Many of the design names[4] then, are names given by artists in terms of their particular medium; but motives are also named for objects in nature or in the material culture, of which they were probably originally naturalistic copies. Prominent among these are the *enata* (Pl. xxiii, *B*, *h*) or man; the *nihoniho peata* (Pl. iii, 6, *c*) or shark's teeth; the *hikuhiku atu* (Pl. xxxiv, *k*) or bonito tails; the *pakiei* (Pl. xx, *B*, *f*) or crab; the *fa'amana* (Pl. xvi, *h*) or pandanus branches; the *makamaka* (Pl. xx, *A*, *c*), branches; the *kaka'a* (Pl. xx, *B*, *c*), lizard; the *poka'a* (Pl. ix, *B* at base of fingers) or shoulder rest for a carrying pole, which is sometimes represented with the carrying pole in the socket as in the finger motives of Pl. ix, *C*, 1.

A third department of names seems to relate to legends and beliefs; such being the *vai o Kena* (Pl. xxvi, *A*, *g*, center) water of Kena; the *vai ta keetu* (Pl. xvi, *c*), sacred bathing place of chiefs; the *vai me'ama* (Pl. xx, *A*, *d*), water moon; the Pohu (Pl. xxii, *B*, *g*, center), a legendary hero; the *peke'oumei* and the *fanaua* (Pl. xv, *c*), or evil spirits.

Whether these and the naturalistic motives had magical significance is not known today, though there is reason to believe that the *fanaua* were put upon the back of this one woman to protect her from these evil spirits. The only positive statement regarding the significance of tattooing design in the Marquesas that can be made upon the basis of the data available today is that it was considered purely decorative at the time of the cessation of the practice of the art. And it is as pure design that it should be studied and appreciated.

[4] In the explanation of the plates the names of the motives are those given by the persons on whose bodies they are found. It is impossible to secure accurate translations of the majority of design names from natives today, since these have become simply names to them. The names given here are only those which a knowledge of the language and information from natives and from Dordillon seem to make reliable.

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TRANSLATIONS OF DESIGN NAMES

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aa fanaua	row of evil spirits (of a certain kind)
akaaka fa'a	pandanus roots
enata	man
fa'a mana	pandanus branches
fanaua	a kind of evil spirit
fatina	jointure
hei ta'avaha	a diadem of cock's plumes
hei po'i'i	shellfish (of a certain circular kind) wreath
hikuhiku atu	tails of the bonito fish
honu	tortoise
hue ao	calabash bottom
hue epo	dirty calabash
hue tai	compass
ihu epo	dirty nose
ikeike	a kind of shrub
ipu ani	sky bowl
ipu ao	bowl bottom
ipu oto	inside the bowl
iti'iti'i	binding
ka'ake	armpit
ka'ava	ridge pole
kaka'a	lizard
kea	woodlouse, or tortoise or a carved plaque of tortoise shell
kikipu	lips
kikomata	eyes
kikutu	lips
kohe ta	sword
kohe tua	back knife
kopiko	zigzag
koua'ehi	coconut leaves
makamaka	branches
mata	eyes
mata hoata	brilliant eye
niho or nihoniho	teeth
nihoniho peata	shark's teeth
nutu kaha	mouth or muzzle
omuo puaina	a kind of carved bone earring
pahito	ancient patch
paka	splinter
paka oto	inside places
pakiei	crab
pana'o	cut in small slices, traced
papua	enclosure or garden
papua au ti	enclosure of ti leaves
papua enata	native enclosure
peata	shark
peka tua	back cross
peke ou mei	a kind of evil spirit
pia'o tiu	to fold or make into bundles
Pohu	a legendary character
po'i'i	a kind of coiled shell fish
poka'a	a shaped wooden shoulder rest for a carrying pole
pu	conch shell
puaina, puainga	ear
pua hitu	flower of olden times
pua hue	flower calabash
puha puaka	pig's thigh
puto'o	buttocks
tamau	ring
tapu vae	sacred foot
ti'ati'a pu	to encircle several times
tifa	cover
tiki	image
tiki ae	forehead image
tou pae	three head ornaments
tumu ima	hand tree
vahana ae	half a forehead
vai me'ama	water moon
vai o Kena	water of Kena, a legendary hero
vai ta keetu	sacred bathing place of chiefs
veo	tail
vi'i po'i'i	to turn the shell fish

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

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PLATE I.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF A TATTOOED MAN OF THE MARQUESAS.

The patterns on half the body of Eotafa of Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa—the most fully tattooed man seen in the Marquesas by the author—the motives being brought out by painting them with black paint. Identical patterns on the unpainted half of the man's body do not appear in the photograph.

PLATE II.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF A TATTOOED WOMAN OF THE MARQUESAS.

Typical modern patterns for women, on the body of Tuuakena at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa: *A*. Front and side view of face, showing lip and ear patterns. *B-E*. Front and rear views of legs showing patterns on the painted portions.

PLATE III.—FACE PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of the Hiva Oa style of three horizontal face bands, *ti'a ti'a pu:* 1. An unfinished example from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa.—2. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing *enata* motive *(a)*.—3. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing a half band on the forehead.—4. From Hokatu, Ua Huka, showing the motives *tiki ae (a)*, *kikomata (b)*, *tiki pu (c)*, and *pariho* (inset in *c*).—5. From Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, showing a band over one eye, *mata (a)*, and a mouth band, *nutu kaha (b)*.—6. From Vai Paee, Ua Huka, showing the motives *vahana ae (a)*, *mata (b)*, *nihoniho peata (c* left), name unknown *(c*, right), detail of *c* right *(e)*, and the *kikutu (d)*.—7. from Vai Paee, Ua Huka.—8. From Hane, Ua Huka.

PLATE IV.—FACE PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of the Hiva Oa style of three horizontal face bands, *ti'ati'a pu:* 1. From Omoa, Fatu Hiva.—2. From Hanavava, Fatu Hiva, showing on inter-band the *nihoniho peata* motive.—3. From Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—4. From A'akapa, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—5. From Hana Vave, Fatu Hiva, showing detail of a chainlike design *(a)*.—6. From Hana Vave, Fatu Hiva, the three bands here called as a whole *tou pae*.—7. From Haka Hetau, Ua Pou, showing *mata (a)*, *veo (b)*, *kiki pu (c)*, *enata* (*d)*, detail of *b* (*e)*, detail of *d (f)*.—8. From Hooumi, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—9. From Haapa, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—10 and 11. From Haka Hau, Ua Pou.

PLATE V.—FACE AND HEAD PATTERNS FOR MEN.

Examples of various styles of different periods: 1. From Hana Iapa, Hiva Oa, showing an unusually shaped eye band and an unfinished mouth band.—2. From Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, showing shoulder and chest patterns mounting the neck to join the face bands.—3. From Haka Hau, Ua Pou: an unfinished pattern, showing the probable sequence of execution—one eye being allowed to heal while half of the mouth was done, and so on.—4 From Ha'a Kuti, Ua Pou (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—5. From Tai o Hae, Nuku Hiva, one of two extant examples showing the Nuku Hiva style of an oblique band *(pa heke)* crossing the face.—6. A former Hiva Oa pattern (after a description by an Atuona informant).—7. An old pattern for warriors of all the islands (after a description by an informant of Fatu Hiva.—8. A variant of the *ti'ati'a pu*, with nostrils covered, belonging to Fatu Hiva and called *ihu epo* (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—9. A pattern formerly used on the crown of the head (after a painting on a sculptured figure which once served as a house post in Ta'a Oa, Hiva Oa, and is now in possession of M. Chadourne of Papeete, Tahiti.—10. The *hue epo* pattern, an example of a former style of the people of Tai o Hae, Nuku Hiva (after a description by a Nuku Hiva informant).—11. An old Nuku Hiva pattern (after a description by an informant of Fatu Hiva).

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PLATE VI.—HEAD AND SHOULDER PATTERNS FOR WOMEN.

A. Typical face patterns for women: lip marks, *koniho*, and an ear pattern, *omuo puaina*.

B. A band across the arm just below the fall of the shoulder, on a woman of Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).

C. Ear patterns: 1. On a woman of Hakaui, Nuku Hiva.—2. Of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, showing the *omuo puaina* design around the lobe and the *kea* design at the back of the ear.—3. Of Tai-pi Vai, showing the *puainga* design (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).—4. Of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, showing around the lobe the *aniatiu (anihaupeko*, Dordillon) motive and back of the ear the *po'opito ua puaina*.—5. Of Hiva Oa.—6. A woman's pattern on a man of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa—a rare occurrence.

PLATE VII.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM FATU HIVA AND TAHU ATA.

A. On a woman of Fatu Hiva: 1. The back of the hand.—2. The palm, showing the *pariho* motive on the underwrist around the palm, the *mata (a)*, the *tamau (b)*, and the *pariho (c)*.

B. On a woman of Tahu Ata: 1. The back, showing the *poka'a* motive at the base of the middle finger, the *pihau (tumu ima*, Langsdorff) *(a)* and the *mata (b)*.—2. The underwrist

PLATE VIII.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM NUKU HIVA AND HIVA OA.

A. On a man of Nuku Hiva.

B. On a woman of Hiva Oa, showing the *taina vou* motive between the thumb and index finger, *e tua poou (a)*, *ti'i kao (b)*, and the *pua niho (c)* around the palm.

PLATE IX.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM FATU HIVA AND TAHU ATA.

A. An old pattern of Fatu Hiva called *kohi'u* (after a drawing made by an old *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva), showing finger motives, *mata va'u;* finger and upper hand units inclusive, *nutu kaha; po'i'i (a); kea po'i'i (b); hei po'i'i (c);* and *hei ta'avaha (d)* around the palm.

B. On the left hand of a woman of Tahu Ata (for the design on her right hand see Plate *X, A)*, showing the *poka'a* motive at the base of the fingers; the *po'i'i (a)*, *Poku (b)*, and the *eia va'u (c)*.

C. On a woman of Hiva Oa, done by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva: 1. The back of the hand showing the central oval, the *po'i'i* motive; the *poka'a* at the base of the fingers and the thumb; *matua kee moa (a)*, *ama opea* between the thumb and index finger; and the *fanaua (b, c.)*.—2. The palm showing the *fanaua* motive around the palm, the *po'i'i (a)*, and the *piaotiu (b)*.

PLATE X.—HAND PATTERNS. MOTIVES FROM TAHU ATA.

A. On a woman of Tahu Ata: 1. The back of the hand, showing the *ka'ava* motive at the base of the middle finger to the wrist, *kou'u (a)*, *poka'a (b)*, *mohovaha (c)*, and the *mata (d)*.—2. The underwrist, *koua'ehi (a)*.

B. On a woman of Tahu Ata. (The tattooing was done by the same *tuhuna* whose work is shown in Plates *X, A* and *IX, B.)* 1. The back, showing the motives *papua (a)*, *e tua poou (b)*, *paka (c)*, *ka'ava* (center), *fanaua (e)*, *Poku (f)*, and *ka'ake (g)*.—2 Underwrist, showing the motives *pua niho* around the palm; *papua ou ti (b)*, and the *vai o Kena (c)*.

PLATE XI.—HAND PATTERNS. VARIANT MOTIVES.

A. Principal units on the hand of a woman of Nuku Hiva, showing the motives *mata putona (a)*, *kea (b)*, and the *mata io (c)*. (After a sketch by E. S. Handy.)

B. A representation of a bird on the underwrist of a woman of Nuku Hiva.

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C. Pattern on two men of Ua Pou.
D. On a man of Hiva Oa, tattooing done by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy).
E. On the underwrist of a woman of Hiva Oa, an unusual *kea* motive.

PLATE XII.—ARM AND BREAST PATTERNS FOR MEN. EVOLUTIONARY TYPES.

A. An old style of Fatu Hiva (after a drawing by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva) showing breast stripes, *ti'i keke*.
B. An old style of Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy from the description of an artist of Fatu Hiva).
C. Detailed drawing of *A*, showing the motives *kea (a)*, the *etua pooi (b)*, the *poka'a* or *pahito (c)*, *fa'amana (d)*, *ipu ao (e)*, and the *vi'i po'i'i (d* and *e)*.
D. The present style: under-arm, *ipu oto;* shoulder disk, *puka puaka;* chest, *ka ma'eha*.
E. Detailed drawings of *B* showing the motives *nihoniho (a)*, *po'i'i (b, c)*.

PLATE XIII.—ARM PATTERNS FOR MEN. TYPICAL MODERN MOTIVES, *ipu oto*.

A. On a man of Ua Huka.
B. On three men of Ua Pou showing a variant of the armpit motive, the *poka'a (a)*, and the *enata (b)*. Three pairs of squarish ovals, similar to those in *A* complete this arm pattern.
C. On a man of Fatu Hiva showing the motives *puoina (a); ti'i o'oka (b);* the three pairs of ovals, *ipu oto;* the arm-pit unit, *ipu ao; poka'a (c);* and *enata (d)*.

PLATE XIV.—BODY PATTERNS FOR MEN. OLD AND NEW TYPES.

A. An unfinished example from Nuku Hiva, typical of all islands at the present time, showing the arm-pit design, *ipu katu* and chest, *teeva*.
B. An old style in back and side patterns from Fatu Hiva (after a drawing by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva) showing back patches, *pahito; ipu oto (a); pahito (b); mata (c); mata (d); koke tua (e)*, a girdle and leg stripe.
C. An unfinished back pattern, *peka tua*, from Nuku Hiva but common to all the Marquesas islands. On Ua Pou this pattern is called *moho*.

PLATE XV.—A BACK PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A girdle on a chiefess of Nuku Hiva, showing the motives *ka'oke (a)*, *mata (b)*, and *fanaua (c)*.

PLATE XVI.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN.

Motives formerly used in Fatu Hiva: *kouiho (a)*, *mata hoata (b)*, *vai ta keetu (c)*, *pana'o (d)*, *ikeike (e)*, *kei po'i'i (f)*, *akaaka fa'a (g)*, *fa'a mana (h)* worn on the inner ankle, *mata omo'e (i)* worn on the inside of the knee, like the present *pahito*, *puka tahi (j)* worn below the knee on the inside of the leg, *eia va'u (k)* worn on the inside of the calf, *nutu kaha (l)*, *tava (m)* worn on the inside of the leg above the ankle (after drawings by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva).

PLATE XVII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

The only surviving example, so far as known, of an old style of Nuku Hiva.
A. Front and side views of the left leg.
B. Back and side views of the right leg.

PLATE XVIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the motives shown in Plate XVII, *A*.

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PLATE XIX.—DETAILED STUDIES OF A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A. Of motives in Plate XVII, *B*.

B. Back thigh units of both legs of patterns in Plate XVII.

C. Ankle motives of the right leg of pattern in Plate XVII, the rest of the ankle and foot pattern being identical with those of the left.

PLATE XX.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the right leg motives of an old style of Ua Pou, the only surviving example to be found today.

A. Front: *paka (a), mata io (b), makomako (c), vai me'ama (d), koau (e)*.

B. Back: *po'i'i (a), ka'ake (b), kaka'a (c), mata io (d), vai me'ama (e), pahioi (f), pu (g)*.

PLATE XXI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Detail of the left leg motives of the preceding example:

A. Front, knee to ankle: *mata (a), ka'ake (b), pahioi (c), vai me'ama (d)*.

B. Back, knee to ankle: *ka'ake (a), mata io (b), vai me'ama (c)*.

C. General view of the left leg.

D. Ankle band.

E. General view of the right leg, of which detail is shown in Plate XX.

PLATE XXII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN. THE MODERN TYPE.

Typical motives indicating the color of the tattooing as it appears on the skin.

A. Back pattern: *vai pahu (a*, left), *ka'ake (a*, center), *mata hoata (b), ka'ake (c), mata hoata (d), ipu ani (e), vai o Kena (f), mata hoata (g), ka'ake (h)* and *(j), Pohu (i), ipu ani (k*, center), *ka'ake (k*, left and right).

B. Front pattern: *mata hoata (a), po'okohe (b*, left and right), *koa (b*, center), *ka'ake (c*, left and right), *pahito (d*, left and right), *ipu ani (d*, center), *mata mei nei (e), ka'ake (f*, left and right), *vai o Kena*, sometimes called *potio kue* or *peke ou mei (f*, center), *Pohu (g*, center), *mata hoata (h), pahito (i* and *j*, left and right), *ka'ake (i* and *j*, center), *ipu ani (k), mata hoata (l), etua poou*, sometimes *Pohu (m)*.

PLATE XXIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN. A VARIANT ARRANGEMENT ON A WOMAN OF PUA MA'U, HIVA OA.

A. Front pattern: *ka'ake (a*, left and right), *mata hoata (a*, center), *aniatiu (b*, left and right), *ka'ake (b*, center), *kopiko (d*, left and right), *po'i'i (d*, center), *ka'ake (e*, left and right), *mata hoata (f*, center), *ka'ake (g), etua poou (h), mata hoata (i), pahito (j*, left and right), *pahito (k*, left and right), *ka'ake (j* and *k*, center), *po'i'i (l), mata hoata (m)*.

B. Back pattern: *mata hoata (a), ka'ake (b), mata hoata (c), po'i'i (d), ka'ake (e), mata hoata (f), ka'ake (g), pae niho (h*, around the foot).

PLATE XXIV.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN.

A and *C*. Detail of upper thigh motives omitted from the leg but burned instead upon bamboo.

B. A general view showing how the motives in Plate XXIII are arranged on the leg.

PLATE XXV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

Front and rear views of an elaborate leg pattern from Pau Ma'u, showing a combination of the fine motives and heavy patches usually worn by men.

PLATE XXVI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR WOMEN.

A. Detailed study of the motives in the front pattern of Plate XXV: *nuiu kaha (a-e* inclusive), *koa (a*, center), *ka'ake (b), koa (c*, center), *pahito (d*, left

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and right), *po'i'i (d,* center), *mata hoata (e), tu'u po'o,* sometimes *vai o Kena* on Fatu Hiva *(f), vai o Kena (g, center), ka'ake (g,* left and right), *mata hoata (h), pahito (i* and *j,* left and right), *ka'ake* and *peke ou mei (i* and *j,* center), *po'i'i (k), mata hoata (l), tu'u po'o (m).*

B. Back pattern: *oniho (a), paka (b), pahito (c), papua (d), pahito (e), mata hoata (f), po'i'i (g), iti'iti'i (h), mata hoata (i), ka'ake (j* and *l), peke ou mei (k), ka'ake (m,* left and right), *po'i'i (m,* center).

PLATE XXVII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN. VARIANTS.

A, B, and *C. Nutu kaha,* variations of the thigh pattern.
D. A band encircling the ankle of a woman of Nuku Hiva.
E. A band encircling the ankle of a woman of Tahu Ata.
F. Ouiho, a band outlining the sole of the foot of a woman of Ua Huka.

PLATE XXVIII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR WOMEN. OTHER VARIATIONS.

A. An elaborate *po'i'i* on the knee of a woman of Tahu Ata.
B. A front shin pattern of unusual arrangement and combination.
[Note the use of the *vai o Kena* on its side *(a,* center), and the combination of *mata* and *vai o Kena (b).*]
C. A variant of the *aniatiu* of Plate XXIII, *A:* left and right *(b* and *c).*
D. Crude representations of the *pa'a'oa* (fish) found on the knees of a woman of Tahu Ata.
E. An upper thigh motive, *puhi,* on a woman of Tahu Ata.
F. An unusual extension of the *ka'ake (a),* a variant of Plate XXIII, *A, h,* found on a woman of Ua Huna; a binding motive *(b)* from Ua Huka, a variant of the *iti'iti'i* of Plate XXVI, *B, h.*

PLATE XXIX.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

Motives formerly used in Nuku Hiva: the *kohe ta,* or sword motive, consisting of a girdle across the back and a stripe down the side of the leg *(a, b), hikuhiku atu (b), pua hitu (c), pahito (d), huetai (e), po'i'i (f), mata hoata (g),* and the *ka'ake (h).* (After drawings by an artist of Fatu Hiva).

PLATE XXX.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

Motives formerly used in Fatu Hiva (after drawings by a *tuhuna* of Fatu Hiva): *aa fanaua,* worn on the upper front thigh *(a); mata hoata (b); pahito (c), vai o Kena (b* and *c),* worn on the back of the leg below the bend of the knee; *papua enata (d),* worn on the inside calf just above the ankle; *mata hoata (e),* worn on the upper thigh alongside the *aa fanaua; ti'i hoehoe (f),* worn on the bend of the knee; *paka'a (g),* worn on the back of the calf; *nihoniho (h),* worn on the inside calf; *ka'ake (i), pua hue* and *ikeike (j); pia'o tiu (k),* worn around the ankle; *ti'i kakao (l),* worn on the foot.

PLATE XXXI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

The Nuku Hiva style of leg pattern, done by a *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva and found on only one man: ornamental band on the thigh, *puhi puha;* the heavy patches, *paipai io.*

PLATE XXXII.—LEG PATTERNS FOR MEN.

The Hiva Oa style, in vogue on all the islands at the time of the discontinuance of the art:

A. Side view of a leg with motives from Ua Huka. The buttock and inside front quarter of the leg pattern are lacking, as is usual in modern examples.
B. Front and side views of a leg with motives from Fatu Hiva, the inside front quarter of the leg pattern, below the knee, being present.

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C. Back view of a leg with motives from Ua Pou, the buttock pattern being present.

PLATE XXXIII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

Detailed study of Plate XXXII, *A*: *kohe ta* (*a*, *b*, and *c*), *kea* (*b*), *mata io* (*c*), *puto'o* (*d*), *haatupa* (*e*), *fatina* (*f*), *pahito* with *po'i'i* inset (*g*), *hikuhiku atu* (*h*), *pahito* (*i* and *j*), *auhoi* (*k*), *tapu vae* (*k* and *l*).

PLATE XXXIV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

Detailed study of motives on Plate XXXII, *B*: *kohe ta* (*a* and *b*); *puto'o* (*c*); *pahito* with *mata haata*, *ka'ake*, and *tiki* insets (*d*); *mata vaho*, the half oval; *pua hue* (*e*); *fatina* (*f*); *pahito* with *po'i'i* and *ka'ake* insets (*g*); *paka oto* (*h*, *i*, *j*); *hikuhiku atu* (*k*); *pahito*, with *mata* and *ka'ake* insets (*l*), *tapu vae* (*m*).

PLATE XXXV.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

A detailed study of the motives of Plate XXXII, *C*: *kohe ta* (*a* and *b*); *tiʻo* (*c*), containing a *mata haata*, *enata*, and a *kea* in the center at the bottom; *puto'o* (*d*); *pahito* (*e*); *fatina* with elaborate double rows of cross-barred teeth inset (*f*); *pahito* (*g*); *paka* (*h*), in place of the usual *hikuhiku atu*; *pahito* (*i*); *tapu vae* (*j*); *auhoi* (*k*).

PLATE XXXVI.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

An elaborated pattern of the Hiva Oa style found at Ua Huka: *kohe tine* (*a-c*), complicated by two *mata io* (*b* and *c*), *puto'o*, lightened by a *mata io* inset (*d*), *pahito* broken by a *ka'ake* and a *po'i'i* inset (*f*).

PLATE XXXVII.—A LEG PATTERN FOR MEN.

A more complicated pattern from Hiva Oa, rendered almost as lacelike as those for women by the numerous fine-line insets in the heavy patches: *puto'o* (*a*, *b*, *c*,) with insets of cross-barred teeth, double rows of *tiki*, and a *vai o Kena*; *pahito* with *mata haata*, *ka'ake*, and *po'i'i* insets (*d*); *fatina* with *mata* inset (*e*); *pahito* with *po'i'i* and *ka'ake* insets (*f*); *hikuhiku atu* (*g*) with flourishes at the points; *pahito* (*h*), whose simple lines are almost lost in the elaborate insets of *vai o Kena* and *mata*.

PLATE XXXVIII.—LEG MOTIVES FOR MEN.

A. Kohe ta from Fatu Hiva.

B. A thigh pattern from Nuku Hiva (after a sketch by E. S. Handy): *mata* (*a*), *hue ao* (*b*).

C. Two bands for the foot: *pia'otiu* and *hakao*.

D. An inside knee motive, *mata vaho*, from Fatu Hiva.

E. and *F.* Ankle bone decorations, *auhoi*.

G. An ankle band from Fatu Hiva: *Tapu vae* (*a*); *hikuhiku atu* (*b*); *pahito* with *ka'ake*, *mata io*, and *tiki* insets (*c*).

H. An elaborated *pahito* from Fatu Hiva with *ka'ake*, *enata*, and *mata io* insets.

304
531

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

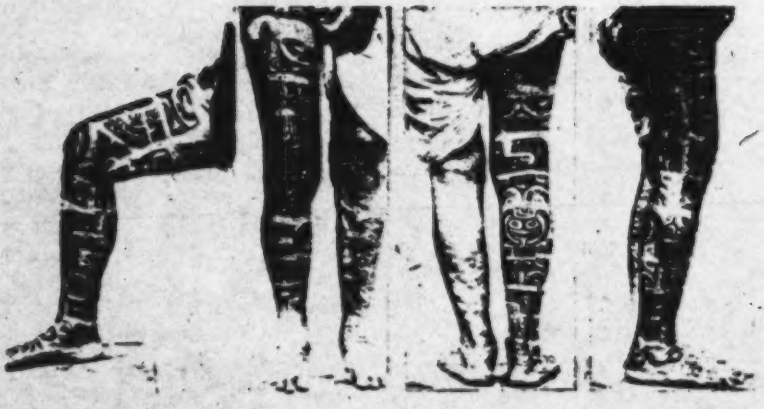
[End Plate 1]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X
30
531

A

B C D E



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 2]

S:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 37

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 304
531

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 4]

B: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 5]

304x
531

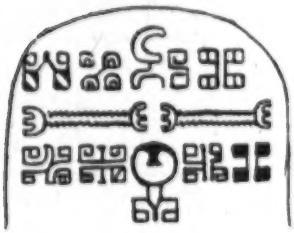
1107o

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304
531

A

B



C

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 6]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304
531

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 7]

304
T5 1

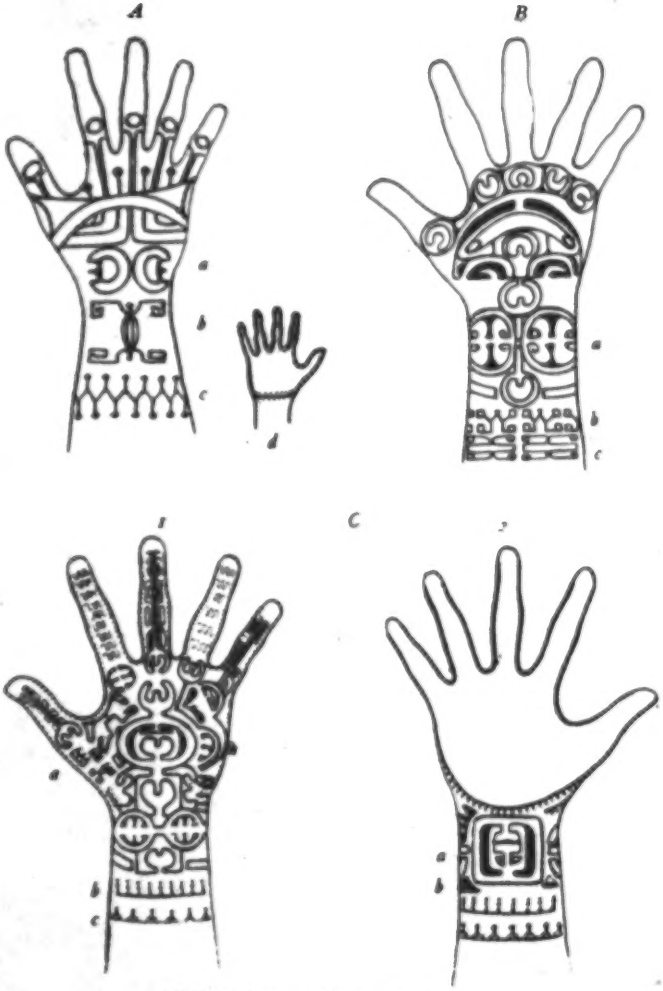
8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 8

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304X
531

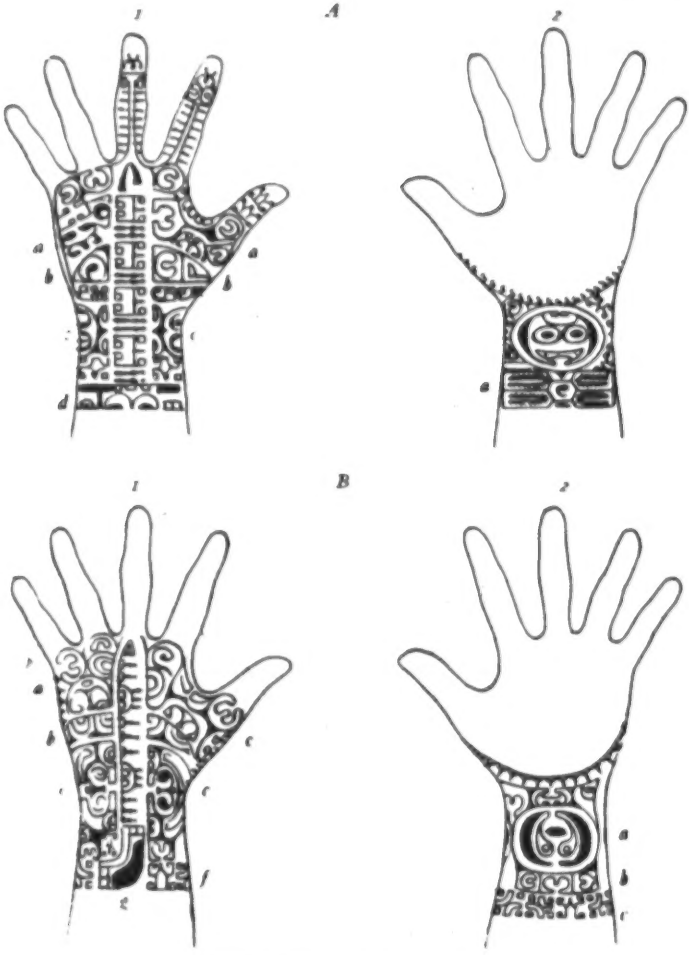


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 9]

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 10]

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A

B

C

D

E

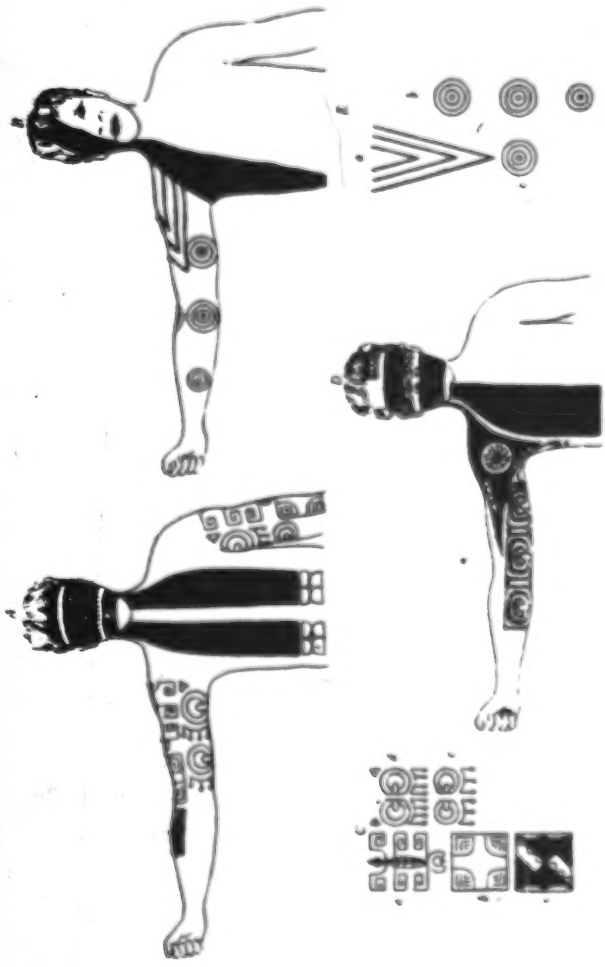
[End Plate 11]

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

304 X
581

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

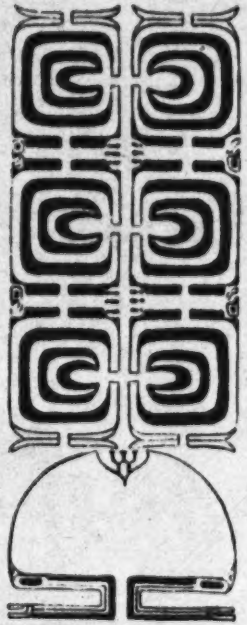
Y 304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 12

A



B

C

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

B: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304.4
531

V304
531

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 14]

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

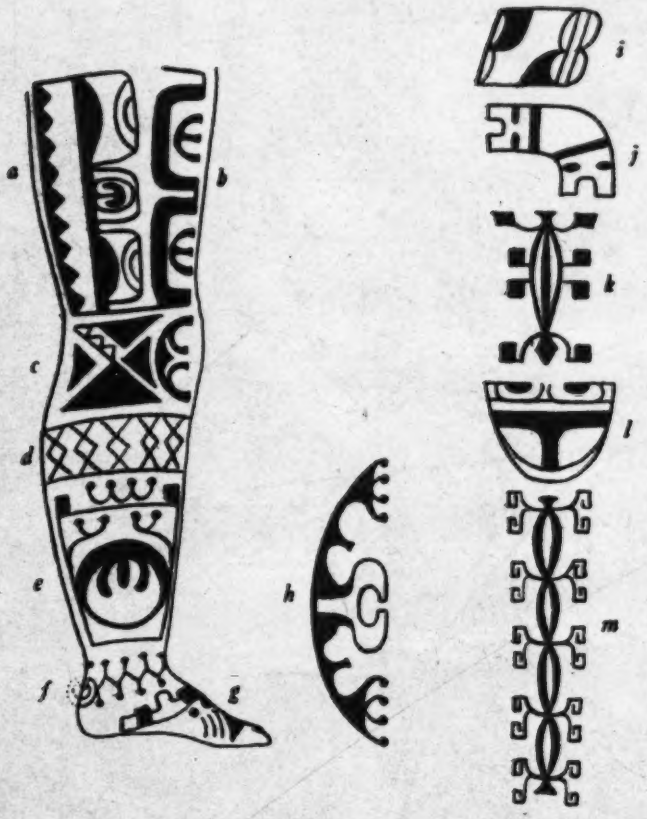
8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

End Plate 15

304x
531

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

7304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 16]

A B

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304X
531

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
531

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 18]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304x
531

A

B

C

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 19]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
531

A B

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 20]

X
304
551

B:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 21]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921) 1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

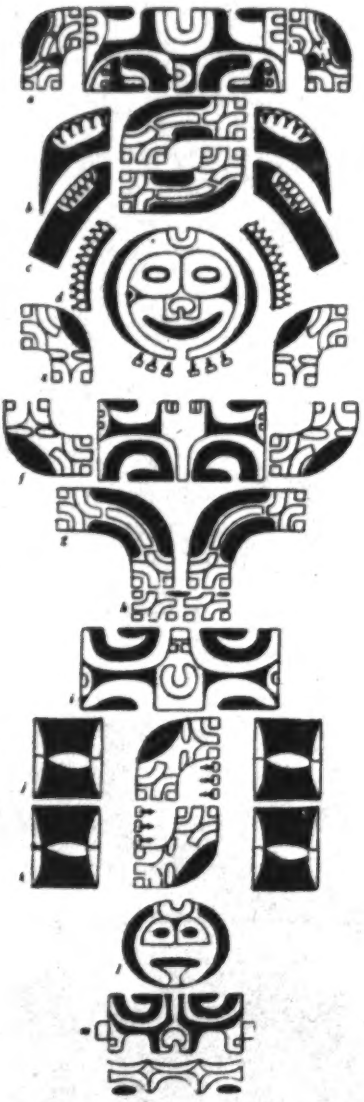
X304
531

[End Plate 22]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 304
531

A



B

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 23]

X304
531

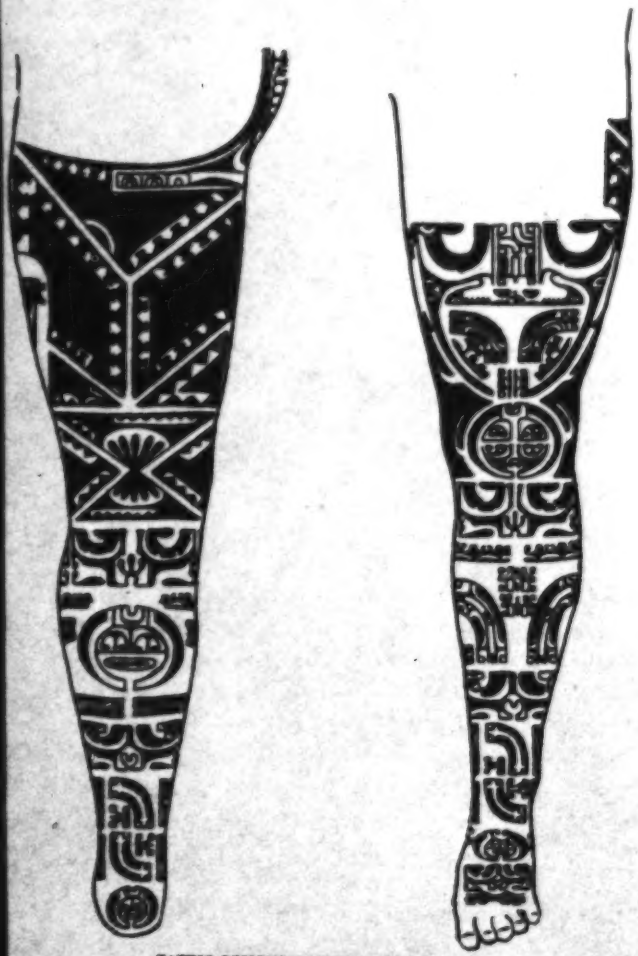
8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 24]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 X
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

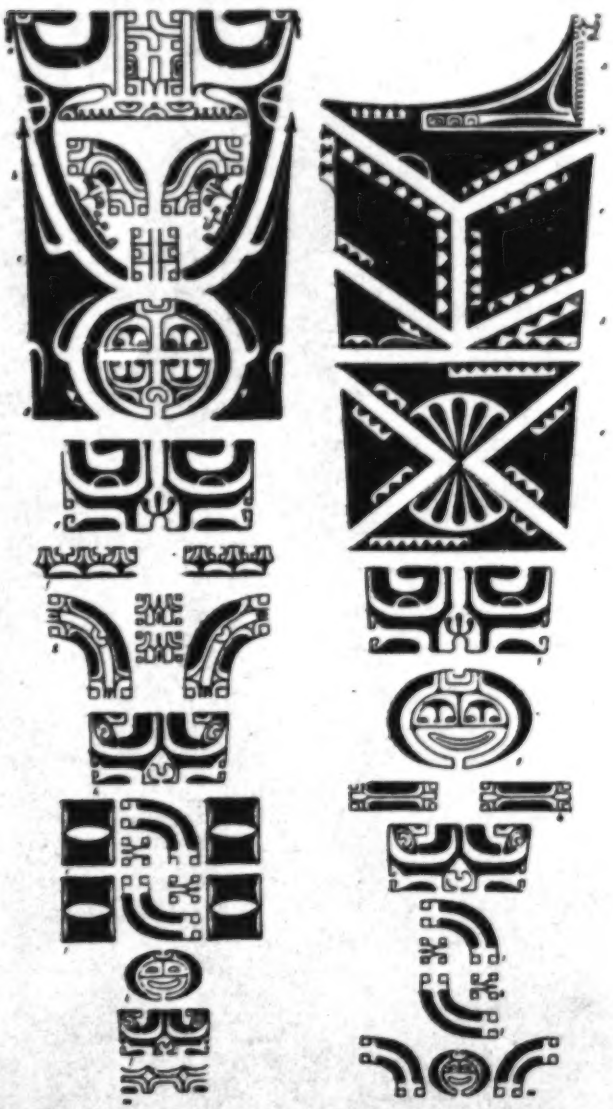
[End Plate 25]

V

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

A B

X 304 531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 26]

Y 304
531

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 27]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

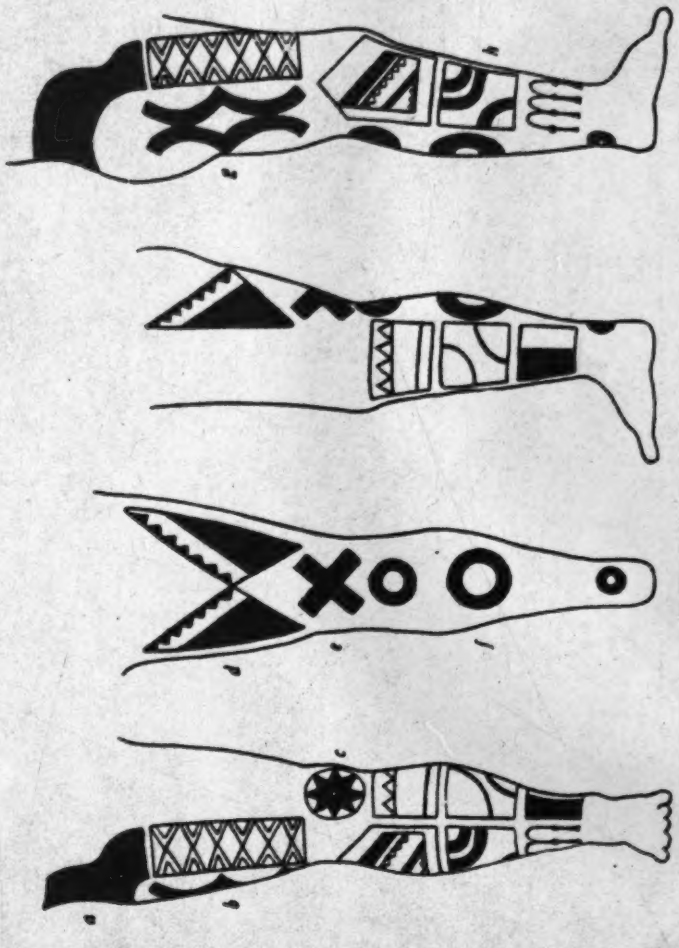
K504
531

End Plate 28

B: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X
304
531

Bulletin 6, Plate XXIX



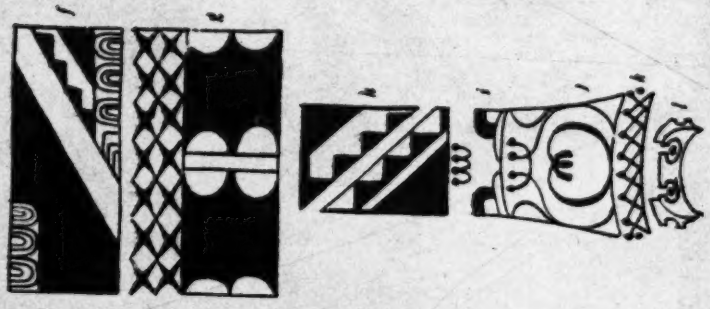
TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

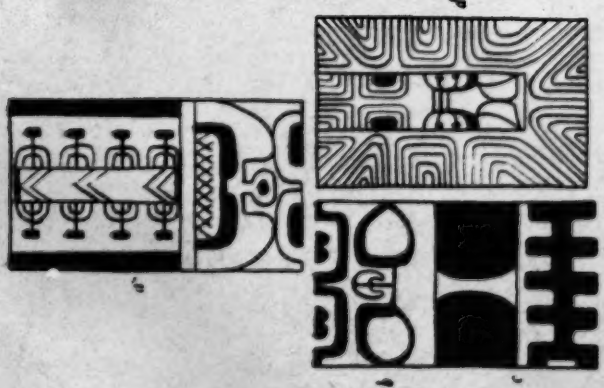
Bernice P. Bishop Museum

[End Plate 29]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Y 304
531





[End Plate 30]

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

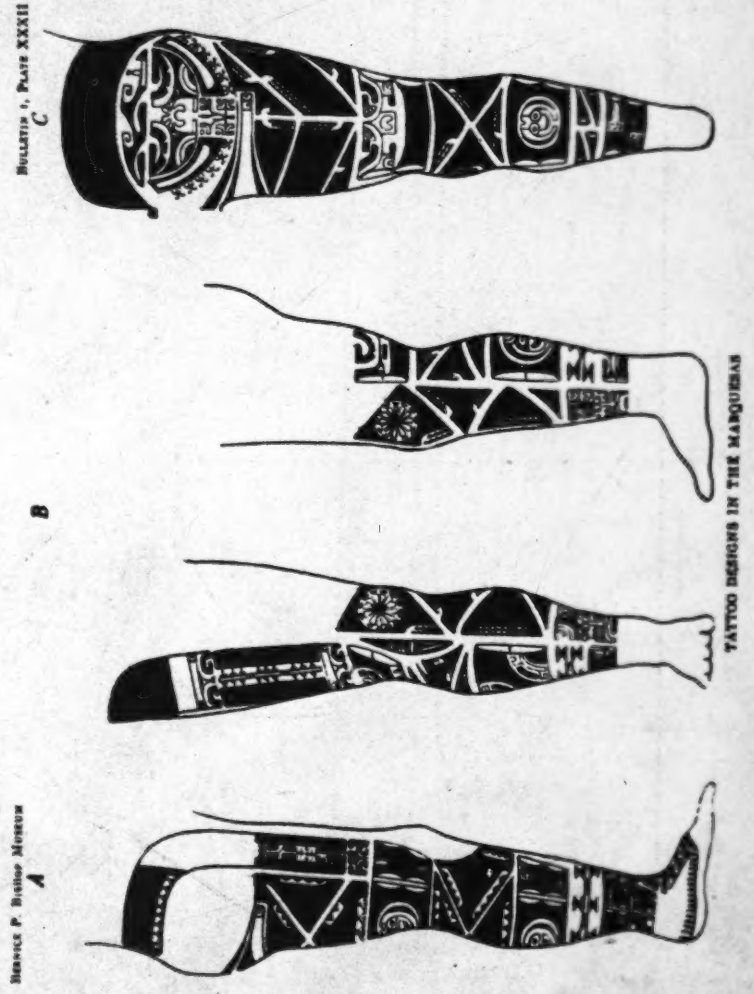
8:Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304x
531

End Plate 31

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 32]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

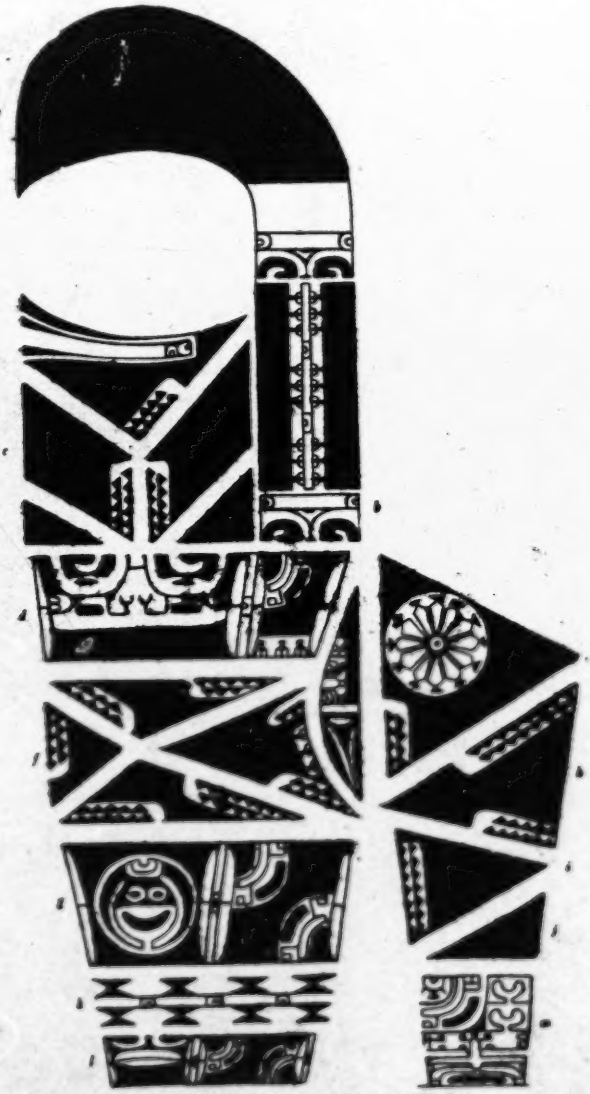
304X
531

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 33]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 304
531

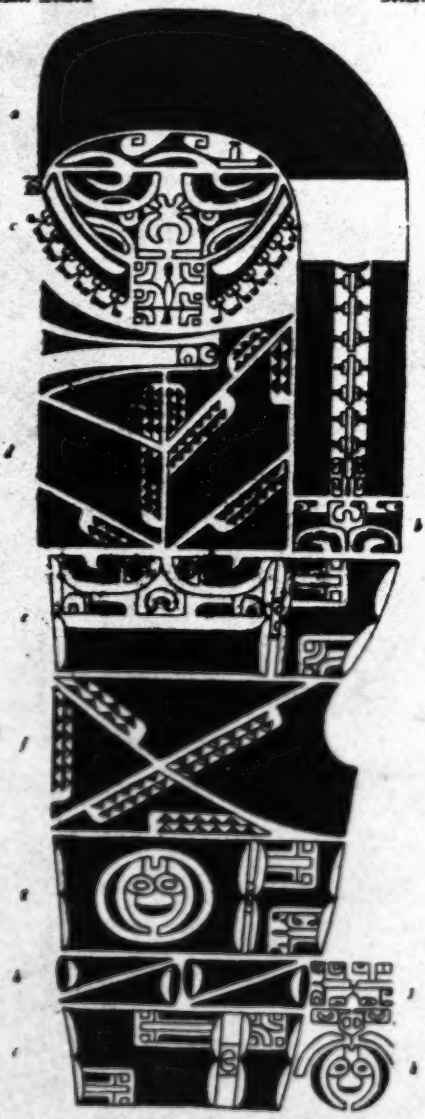


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 34]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304X
531

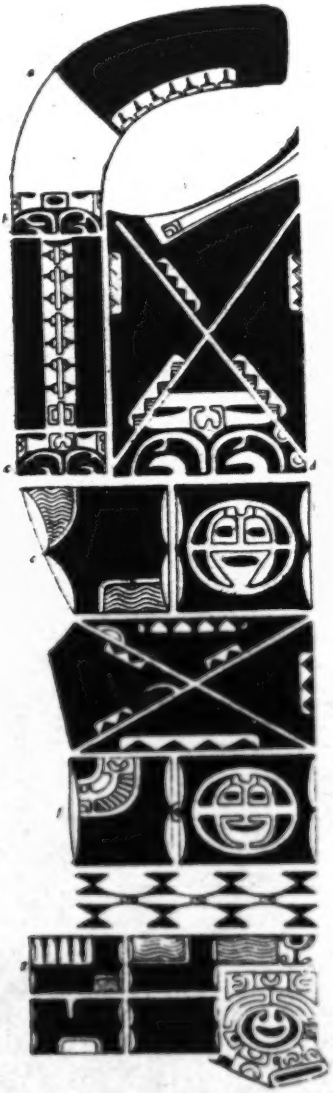


TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 35]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X 304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

[End Plate 36]

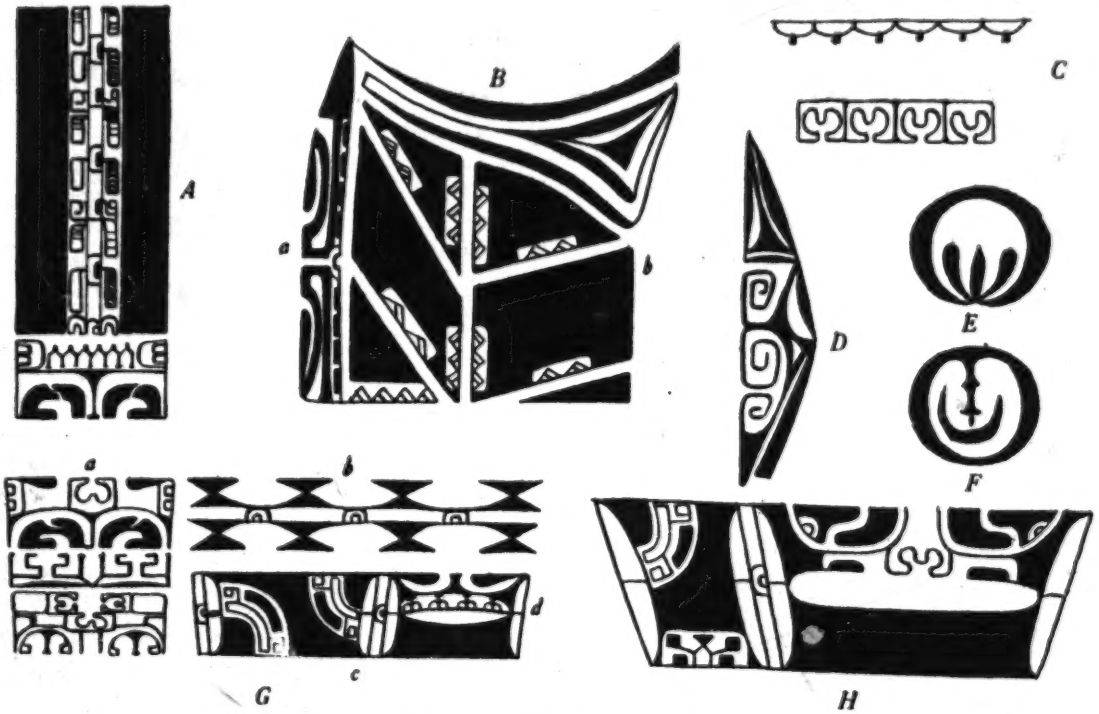
8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304
531

TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 37

304
531



TATTOO DESIGNS IN THE MARQUESAS

End Plate 38

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

8: Handy
304

Marquesas OX6

[For information on tattooing see category 116, pp. 3-32, plates 1-38.]